

England Scotland
 Dominion of Canada Newfoundland
 Ireland Wales

New South Wales
 New Zealand
 South Australia
 Tasmania
 Cape of Good Hope
 Honduras
 Leeward Is.
 Labuan
 Zambesia
 Jamaica
 W. African Setts.
 Hong Kong
 Fiji Islands
 North Borneo
 Falkland Is.
 Cyprus
 Malta
 Aden

Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee.

The
 Conference at
 Ottawa.

The Colonies and Maritime Defence.

30, CHARLES STREET, BERKELEY SQUARE,
 LONDON, W.

Queensland
 W. Australia
 Ceylon
 Natal
 Guiana
 Windward Is.
 Trinidad
 Bahamas
 New Guinea
 Straits Settlements
 St. Helena
 Bermuda
 Brit. E. Africa
 Sierra Leone
 Gibraltar
 Mauritius

India Perim



Imperial Federation (Defence) Committee.

THIS Committee adopts the following Resolutions passed by the Conference which founded the Imperial Federation League in 1884 :—

That in order to secure the permanent unity of the Empire some form of Federation is essential.

That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of Local Parliaments as regards local affairs.

That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.

It also adopts the expansion of the principles of those Resolutions by the Special Committee of 1892, as expressed in the summary taken from the Report adopted by the Council of the Imperial Federation League in the same year.

In particular, the Committee recognises as the lesson to be drawn from the experience of the nine years' working of the late League—

1. That an adequate system of Maritime Defence is the primary necessity common to all parts of the Empire.
2. That such a system of defence does not exist under present conditions.
3. That if the self-governing Colonies take their share in the cost of such a system of defence, they must have a proportionate share in its administration and control; and if those Colonies are not willing to take their share in a common system of defence, it is evident that Federation is not practicable, whatever arrangements may be proposed or adopted as regards interchange of commerce, means of intercommunication, monetary standards, etc.
4. That, given a common system of Maritime Defence, provided and controlled by a body in which all parts of the Empire are represented, the Federation of the Empire is attained, so far as essentials are concerned.
5. That combination for the defence of common interests is therefore—as was recognised in 1884—the one essential point, and the test of the practicability of Imperial Federation.
6. That proposals involving participation by them in the cost of general maritime security, which has hitherto been enjoyed without expense, cannot be expected to come, in the first instance, from Colonial Governments.

It will therefore be the first aim of the Committee to call the attention of the people of the United Kingdom to the anomalous and precarious state of affairs now existing, and to induce Her Majesty's Government to make to those Colonial Governments, in an official manner, such statements as to the present means by which defence is provided, and such proposals regarding the future, as will elicit from them an expression as to their willingness to take part in such a combination.

In order to narrow the issue as much as possible, and thereby to concentrate effort upon this one essential point, it is specifically declared that the objects of the Committee do not include any proposal involving an alteration of the fiscal policy either of the United Kingdom or of any of the Colonies.

1895
(119)

The Conference at Ottawa.

The Colonies and Maritime Defence.

The Demand of Canada and Australia.

A request has been made by the representatives in London of the self-governing Colonies that £75,000 per annum for ten years should be paid out of the revenues of the United Kingdom to subsidise steamers in connection with a new service between Canada and Australia, and, further, that interest at 4 per cent. should be guaranteed out of the revenues of the United Kingdom upon one-third of the original cost, estimated at £1,800,000 (£24,000 per annum), of laying a submarine cable upon the bed of the Pacific Ocean, to connect the same countries telegraphically.

Based upon Imperial Obligations.

This request is made upon the ground that these undertakings are of **an Imperial character**, which is alleged to be such as to be of interest and importance to the whole of the British Empire.

Another Imperial Obligation.

In view of the foregoing, attention is called to the facts set out in **No. 1** of this series, regarding an object of vital importance to the Empire at large, namely, the maintenance of its Maritime Defence.

The Maintenance of the Royal Navy.

In that Pamphlet it was shown that the Navy, employed and relied upon for the protection of the whole Empire, is provided and

maintained **entirely at the cost of the people of the United Kingdom**, though there are 11 million people of the same race, inhabiting some of the richest countries of the world, under the same Sovereign, and enjoying the same privileges, who contribute practically **nothing** to that expenditure.*

The Colonies Need to be Asked.

It was also pointed out that this inequitable state of affairs is not primarily the fault of the Colonies referred to. They have **not been asked** to contribute. Until they have been asked to do so in such a manner as to let them feel the full weight of their responsibility in replying, no reproach can justly be levelled at them in this respect.

At the First Opportunity.

Having regard to the **steadily increasing taxation of the people of the United Kingdom** for the maintenance of the Navy, and to the **population, wealth, and prosperity to which these Colonies have happily attained**, and which directly necessitate increased means of Maritime Defence, it is highly important that this question should be raised at the first appropriate opportunity, and that the attitude of the Colonies in reference to it should be authoritatively ascertained.

The Ottawa Conference Afforded It.

To this end a Memorial was recently signed by a number of Peers and Members of Parliament belonging to both political parties, in which it was urged upon Her Majesty's Government that the representative of the United Kingdom at that Conference should be instructed to bring these facts before the Conference at Ottawa, and to invite it **to declare the willingness of the countries there represented to take an equitable share with the United Kingdom in the cost of the maintenance of the Navy** which protects their liberties, their interests, and their commerce in all parts of the world, provided that arrangements are made by which contributing Colonies can also **share in the administration of the funds** so provided.

* United Kingdom spends £18,000,000 ; Colonies (local Navy) £200,000.

Imperial or Not Imperial.

No opinion is here expressed as to whether the objects, for which a fresh contribution is sought from the funds of the United Kingdom, are of **a sufficiently Imperial character** to justify Her Majesty's Government in admitting the claim which has been made upon the United Kingdom.

Paramount Claims of Maritime Defence.

But it is desired to emphasise **the paramount nature of the claims of Imperial Defence** upon the whole of the Empire by the following comparisons:—

1. The proposed cable will connect only two countries of the Empire, and will not come within 5,000 miles of the United Kingdom, which is called upon to contribute to it.

The Royal Navy, to which the Colonies do *not* at present contribute, is found upon every Colonial coast, and is called upon to protect every Colonial interest.

2. The steamship lines and the cable are in prospect only.

The Royal Navy has been provided and maintained by the United Kingdom, without Colonial aid (until the Australian contribution above referred to, in 1892), since its establishment in the days of Henry VIII., and without it the Colonies could not have attained their present prosperity.

3. The steamship lines and the cable are to be private enterprises, to be worked for profit, and, if any control is to be exercised over them, it must in the nature of things be exercised by the countries to and from which they run.

The Royal Navy is administered by Her Majesty's Government, and its services are even now claimed and utilised by all parts of the Empire.

4. That the need of the services of the proposed cable and steamship lines is, at present, limited, is proved by the admitted fact that they can only pay if heavily subsidised.

An efficient system of Maritime Defence is of vital necessity to every British subject in the Empire.

5. Such undertakings as cable and steamship lines have

hitherto, in other parts of the Empire, been left to private enterprise, which has not served the Empire badly.

The Maritime Defence of the Empire cannot be undertaken on a commercial basis, and it can only be thoroughly efficient if it is paid for, owned, and administered by the whole Empire.

A Fortiori.

In short, if it be the duty of all citizens of the Empire to contribute to facilities of communication between Canada and Australia, it must be **in a far larger degree their duty to contribute to the maintenance of the Navy**, upon whose efficiency the safety of the realm chiefly depends.

Imperial Expenditure Should be Met by Imperial Funds.

The projected cable is merely a subordinate branch of the general question of Imperial Defence, and this question should be dealt with as a whole. It is contended that rather than deal with the matter piecemeal Her Majesty's Government, before acceding to the request of the self-governing Colonies to make a contribution to these undertakings on account of their Imperial nature, should seize the occasion for the establishment of a system whereby **all self-governing countries of the Empire should contribute to a common Imperial Fund** for such purposes.

Not by Individual Contributions.

A regular system of contribution for Imperial purposes thus established would obviate **invidious demands for special contributions** to their own particular undertakings being made by individual sections of the Empire upon other sections, on the score of the incidental advantages possibly accruing to the latter from such undertakings. Such a system could not fail to create a better understanding between the component parts of the Empire, and thus tend to the permanent maintenance of Imperial unity.

The Colonies and the Death Duties.

The Committee expresses no opinion as to the proposals of the Chancellor of the Exchequer regarding the duty to be paid upon the Estate in the Colonies of a person dying domiciled in the United Kingdom.

But its sense of the **necessity for a contribution** in some form from the Colonies to the maintenance of Maritime Defence, if the Empire is to be considered as one, has been clearly placed on record.

The Colonies can only be Taxed by Themselves.

The Committee does **not** propose that the Colonies should be **taxed by the United Kingdom** for the maintenance of the Navy. Such a proposal would conflict with the principles of British liberty.

Let the Colonies Know the Facts.

The plan advocated by the Committee is that H.M. Government should place the facts of the case (*see* No. 1) clearly before the people of the Colonies, and invite them **voluntarily to take their share** in the cost and in the administration of the Navy which defends them.

They can judge of their own Interests.

The utterances of their statesmen, and of their press, the reputation of their people for sound common sense and knowledge of **their own interests**, give ample ground for the belief that the invitation will be welcomed.

There is no right to assume that the people of the Colonies desire to avoid the just responsibilities of a united Empire.

The Agents-General of the Colonies Suggest this Course.

In a memorial to the Chancellor of the Exchequer the Colonial Representatives say :

"If the object of the proposed (Death) duties be to enforce a contribution from the Colonies for an additional outlay upon the Navy, we submit that the Colonial Governments should first **have been invited, in a direct manner**, to contribute towards that outlay."

The Colonial Side of the Question.

It has been frequently said that to present Imperial Federation to a Colonist as an arrangement by which he will have **to pay for Imperial expenditure** to which he has not contributed before, is not likely to attract him, and it has therefore been thought wise in some quarters to **cover up this aspect of the question**, and to endeavour to coax the Colonist into an Imperial Federation by baiting it with proposals for preferential trade, penny postages and subsidies for means of communication.

To Take or to Leave.

The Committee has from the first recognised the necessity of **stating the case plainly**; and it holds that if Federation (as indicated in the original resolutions of the Imperial Federation League) is **not acceptable upon its own merits**, then Federation should **not be advocated**.

Not only for the United Kingdom.

But the argument in favour of Imperial Federation is **by no means one-sided**. Federation is not only a means of adjusting an inequality of burden from which the United Kingdom suffers.

The Colonies have a Vital Interest in it.

Under the present plan the Colonies **rely on being defended by the Navy** of the United Kingdom, while they go **free of all charge** in the matter. Under the plan proposed they would **pay their share of its cost**.

They may be left in the Lurch.

Are they not wise to avoid this?

Undoubtedly, **if they can count with certainty on being defended** when the trouble comes.

But this is **just what they cannot do.**

Increasing Demand upon the Navy.

Every year entails fresh demands upon the Navy, tending to make it less adequate for the work it has to do, owing to

1. The growth of commerce on the seas, especially Colonial commerce independent of the United Kingdom.
2. The rapid increase in the wealth of the Colonies, rendering them more liable to attack.
3. The growth of the Navies of other nations.

Those who Pay the Piper must call the Tune.

It is evident that in stress of war **the first call on the Navy must be to defend the United Kingdom**, the people of which pay for and control it. It is inevitable that they should think of themselves first. History shows that in the war of 1779—1782, the West Indian Islands—then the most valuable of the British Colonies—were **virtually abandoned till the Channel was made safe.**

Country First, Food Supplies Next: Colonies — P

After the safety of the United Kingdom, the services of the Navy would next be imperatively required by those who have paid for it, for the protection of the **ocean routes by which their daily food reaches them**; and in time of war these routes would not necessarily lead to the Colonies.

"Who Paid for this Navy?"

No other considerations are likely to prevail with people in such a position, who can say, "**We alone provided this Navy** through all these years of peace; now that the war has come we mean to use it."

A Bad Look-out, and how to Improve It.

In these circumstances the Colonies may find themselves defenceless, and their commerce **at the mercy of the enemy**. The position of the Colonies is therefore one of great insecurity, and it can only be improved by their doing that which **every other civilised country** has found it necessary to do—namely, to **make adequate provision for the defence** of their territories and their interests.

Alternatives.—I. Independence.

This may be done in two ways : first, by independence.

This means (1) **Costly outlay** on Navy, standing Army, and *matériel* of war, and diplomatic representation all over the world ; (2) simultaneous **loss of financial credit** ; (3) infinitely **greater danger of war** through the weakness of individual Colonies, and the tempting prizes which many of them offer.

II. Federation.

Secondly, provision may be made by federation for defence.

Advantages—(1) At an expense infinitesimal as compared to that which would be incurred by each Colony setting up for itself, each Colony would assume **a share** in an established and **most efficient system of Naval defence**. (2) Every penny contributed would go to **increase the strength of the Navy** without additional administrative expense. (3) The Navy would become **the Navy of the Empire** in a sense it cannot be while the United Kingdom pays for it and directs it. (4) The Colonies would have a direct voice in the management of the Navy, which would ensure a **full consideration of Colonial interests in case of war**.

Copies of this and previous pamphlets may be obtained for distribution at the rate of 5s. per hundred, by application to the Hon. Secretary, who will also be glad to supply further information upon this subject and to receive promises of support on behalf of the Committee.

Address—30, Charles Street, Berkeley Square, London, W.